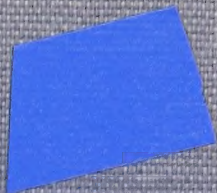


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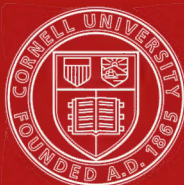

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BELL'S CLASSICAL TRANSLATIONS

THE  
SUPPLIANTS  
OF  
ÆSCHYLUS

TRANSLATED BY  
WALTER HEADLAM, M.A.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS  
YORK STREET  
COVENT GARDEN. LONDON.



THE SUPPLIANTS OF ÆSCHYLUS





THE  
PLAYS OF ÆSCHYLUS

TRANSLATED FROM A REVISED TEXT BY

WALTER HEADLAM

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE SUPPLIANTS



LONDON  
GEORGE BELL & SONS

1900

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THE numbering of lines adopted in this translation is that of Wecklein (1885), who counts them as they appear in the Medicean MS. (known as M). Wecklein's is the best text for a scholar, but Weil's (Teubner) is good for ordinary purposes. I have been careful to give the readings that differ from these texts—many have been found since they were published—and I venture to believe there is no longer any reason for supposing this curiously interesting play too difficult to read.

By far the most complete and thorough commentary is that of Paley in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, and he who supplements this with Hermann and the too few notes of Weil in his critical edition need not look, I think, for much of value elsewhere on this play. Mr. Tucker, it will be seen, has contributed many most welcome emendations, and where I have been able to agree with him I have not found it easy to improve upon the English of his renderings.

KING'S COLLEGE, *November* 1899.



THE SUPPLIANTS

*DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.*

CHORUS OF DANAIDS.

DANAUS.

PELAGUS.

HERALD.

## THE SUPPLIANTS.

(*Chorus of DANÁIDS.*)

MAY Zeus Petitionary look with grace upon our company, that took ship and launched from the fine-sanded mouths of Nile! The land divine,<sup>1</sup> whose pastures march with Syria, we have left in exile—no outlawry decreed<sup>2</sup> by public vote for bloodshed, but in abhorrence of sinful wedlock of near kindred with the folly-prating<sup>3</sup> sons of Aegyptus.

It was Danaus our sire, chief in our counsels and leader of our cause, that determined on this move as the honourablest choice of evils, to fly pell-mell across the ocean-billow and put 'in at the shore of Argos: for thence it is hath grown this race of ours that claims its origin from the sting-tormented Cow by laying on of the hands of Zeus and by the breathing of his spirit.

What friendlier land then could we come unto with these 20

<sup>1</sup> Or ' of Zeus.'

<sup>2</sup> *δημηλασίαν* (Turnebus) . . . *γνωσθείσαν* (M. Schmidt).

<sup>3</sup> *ἀλλ' αὐτογενῆ τῶν φλυζαγορᾶν γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ' ὄνοταζόμεναι* is my correction of the MS. *ἀλλ' αὐτογένητον φυλαξάνοραν* with *υλαξ* written in erasure and an accent erased above the final *α*. It is called *γάμον Αἰγυπτογενῆ* 1064, *συγγενῆ γάμον* *P. V.* 881.

wool-wreathed branches, the suppliant's weapons, in our hands?

O realm, O land and water white, ye gods on high and powers of heavy vengeance filling tombs within the earth,<sup>1</sup> and Zeus the Saviour over all, protector of the house of godly men, let compassion be wafted from the land to accept the petition<sup>2</sup> of this company of womenkind; but that lewd swarm of males born of Aegyptus, ere they set<sup>30</sup> foot upon this silted shore, drive with their swift vessel out into the deep, and there let them encounter angry sea, and by buffeting storm, thunder and lightning, and winds rain-laden perish, ere ever they make this cousinhood their own, and mount unwilling beds that holiness denies them!

Now call I to our succour from over seas that Zeus-<sup>40</sup> begotten Calf—offspring of the flower-browsing Cow by the spirit of Zeus (to that handling the appointed period gave due confirmation in his name,<sup>3</sup> and he that she brought forth was *Eraphus*): him call I to our aid, and now in the region of our ancient Mother's pasturage by<sup>50</sup> recounting those former sufferings I shall display to the inhabitants<sup>4</sup> trustworthy warrant<sup>5</sup> for the nonce, and others, though unlooked for, shall appear: and the truth (of our story) will be seen in the course of speech.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Heroes.

<sup>2</sup> αἰδεῖσθαι ἰκέτην is the regular phrase.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰνιν ἀνθονομούσας προγόνου βοῶς ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας Ζηνός· ἔφαψιν ἐπωνυμία δ' ἐπεκραίνετο μόρσιμος αἰών, . . . This punctuation appears to me necessary; cf. v. 17. μόρσιμος αἰών is the period of gestation: ἔτεκεν δ' ἄνικα Μοῖραι τέλεσαν Eur. *Bacch.* 99, κυρίῳ ἐν μηνί Pind. *O.* vi. 32; Opp. *Cyn.* iii. 156.

<sup>4</sup> πιστὰ τεκμήρια γαιονόμοις, τὰ δ' ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανεῖται is an emendation by Hermann completed by Paley.

<sup>5</sup> This is the meaning; not 'sure proofs,' but (as in v. 277, *Ag.* 364, Soph. *El.* 774) evidence credible enough (*Ag.* 1212) to form a *prima facie* probability. The language indeed is almost legal: γνώσεσθε προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου say the orators (e.g. Antiphon. v. 10; Isocr. xvii. 26), = ἐν μήκει λόγου<sup>6</sup>, as προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου = ἐν μήκει χρόνου.



Now should there chance to be any native augur<sup>1</sup> nigh, he will fancy, when my complaining meets his ear, that he 60 hears the voice of Tereus' wife of lamentable counsel<sup>2</sup>—the hawk-chased nightingale, who being shut out from haunts (?) and rivers<sup>3</sup> utters a mournful plaint<sup>4</sup> for her wonted habitations, and weaves withal the story of her own child's death, how he met with an unnatural mother's wrath and perished by murder at her hand.

Even so do I, lamenting in Ionian strains,<sup>5</sup> tear tender 70 sunburnt<sup>6</sup> cheek and heart unused to tears, and cull the bitterest of sighs, in fear concerning friends<sup>7</sup>—whether there is any to champion this flight from the Hazy Land.<sup>8</sup>

O gods of our race, regard the right and give good ear! 80 So shall ye be righteous toward wedlock, if ye grant not unto youthful lust to find unholy consummation, but look on outrage with a hearty hate. Even for such as flee hard-pressed from war there is an altar to protect the fugitive from the sword, sacred in the sight of heaven.

The (will) of Zeus O might one well and truly<sup>9</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Tucker reads *οἰωνοπολῶν* 'auguring.'

<sup>2</sup> This I take to be the construction, if *μήτιδος* is genuine; and I think it is genuine, considering the phrase of Hom. τ 522 *παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένην Ἴτυλον φίλον ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ κτεῖνε δι' ἀφραδίας*.

<sup>3</sup> *ἄτ' ἀπὸ χάρων ποταμῶν τ' ἐργομένα*: Tucker reads *ἄθ' ὑπὸ χλωρῶν πετάλων τεγγομένα* 'weeping beneath the green leaves,' taking *χλωρῶν πετάλων* from Hermann.

<sup>4</sup> *πενθεῖ μὲν* (Haecker for *νέον*) *οἴκτον ἠθέων* = 59 *ἐγγαῖος οἴκτον ἄτων*.

<sup>5</sup> Like the mourning songs of the 'Keeners' of Asia Minor. Observe that the metre in which they say this is that of the Ionian *elegiac*, broken off just before the couplet is completed. Similarly in the dirge of Eur. *Alcest.* 477, *κούφα σοι χθῶν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, γύναι. εἰ δέ τι . . .* the words indicated are a suggestion of the familiar elegiac epitaph.

<sup>6</sup> *εἰλοθερῆ* Bothe.

<sup>7</sup> Weil conjectures *ἀφίλου τᾶσδε φυγᾶς*, and *ἀφόνου* might be suggested (*cf. zv.* 6 and 202).

<sup>8</sup> *ἀήρ* is 'atmosphere.'

<sup>9</sup> *εἶθ' εἶη Διὸς εὖ παναληθῶς* 'O might one know the will of God

The desire of Zeus is ill to seize: everywhere, even in the darkness, the flame of it burns but in obscure sort<sup>1</sup> before the eyes of human folks—.

But safe, and not upon its back,<sup>2</sup> a matter falls if the fulfilment of it be ordained by the nod of Zeus.

—for dark and tangled stretch the paths of his intent, 10 past understanding to discern.

Down from their towering imaginations he hurleth mortals to perdition, yet equips no force:—even from his holy throne, whereas he sitteth, his unlaboured Harmony<sup>3</sup>

with certainty,' I take it she was going to say, but is abruptly checked by another member of the Chorus, who recognises a proverbial aspiration, and replies to it. Aeschylus frequently breaks up his Chorus into separate voices, excitedly interrupting one another or expressing different views; but the MSS. hardly ever afford any indication of such dialogue, a neglect which has caused perhaps more trouble than any other. At the end of this play (1054 sqq.) there is an animated altercation between the two parties that I conjecture in this passage.

<sup>1</sup> Even when it should show plain against the background of the night. *τύχη*, *μοῖρα*, and even *κῆρ* are used poetically of the 'character' or 'portion' with which anything is endowed.

<sup>2</sup> A racy metaphor such as those from bowls, archery, tennis in our Elizabethans. Only a fall upon the back counted as a fair throw; if upon the shoulder, for example, it was a *ψευδόπτωμα*: *Ag. Eq.* 571, *A. P.* ix. 588. 5. Lucian *Anacharsis* 24 *καταπίπτειν τε ἀσφαλῶς μανθάνουσι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι εὐμαρῶς*.

<sup>3</sup> *τὰν ἄπονον δ' ἄρμονίαν ἤμενος ἀμ φρόνημά πως* for *τὰν ἄπονον δαιμονίων ἤμενον ἀμ φρόνημά πως*. Here *ἄπονον* is due to Wellauer, *ἤμενος* to Paley; the rest I have restored. Aeschylus uses the metaphor again in *P. V.* 569, *οὔποτε τὰν Διὸς ἄρμονίαν θνατῶν παρεξίασι βουλαί*, which it is strange no critic should have remarked to be one of his numerous Pythagoreanisms. The whole ordered universe (*κόσμος*, *mundus*) was conceived by Pythagoras, using musical symbolism, as a *harmony*: see e.g. Zeller *Greek Philosophy* I. 465, 507. And with God this complicated Scheme works, in Mr Kipling's phrase, 'wheel within wheel to the ordered, effortless end' (*A Fleet in Being*, p. 60). For it costs him no effort to effect his purpose; as Xenophanes (B.C. 538) said of his one God, *ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει*. *Aesch. fr.* 99. 2: *τοῖόν γε μὴν Ζεὺς κλέμμα πρεσβύτου πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μένων*

by some means doth he accomplish after his design.<sup>1</sup>

So let him look now unto outrage upon earth, to behold <sup>110</sup> how the old stem grows young again,<sup>2</sup> in desire of union with us a-burgeon with froward thoughts, its own frenzied purpose a resistless goad, a delusion bringing disaster to be rued.<sup>3</sup>

Such miserable sufferings while I wail, now shrill, now low, blended with falling tears, *alas! alas!* resembling <sup>120</sup> funeral dirges, though yet alive I celebrate my own lament.

I implore the grace of hilly Apia (the outlandish utterance<sup>5</sup> well, O land, thou kennest), and oft I fall on my Sidonian veil with linen-marring<sup>6</sup> rent.

ἄμοχθον ἤνυσεν λαβεῖν. *Eum.* 653, *Pind. O.* xiii. 83, *Lucret.* v. 1181. That is the meaning of ἤμενος κτέ. : *Hom.* φ 420 αὐτόθεν ἐκ δίφροιο, καθήμενος, *T* 76, *v* 56, *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 343 αὐτόθεν ἔνθα περ ἦστο, *Ar. Pax* 266 παράξει τὰς πόλεις καθήμενος, *Ach.* 838; *Xen. Kερ. Aih.* i. 16 οἴκοι καθήμενοι ἄνευ νεῶν ἔκπλου διοικουσι τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας.

<sup>1</sup> ἄμ φρόνημα = κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν : *Hesych.* φρόνημα : βούλημα, θέλημα. *Hdt.* iii. 122 ; πυνθάνομαί σε ἐπιβουλεύειν πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα 'according to your ambitions' or 'projects.' *Pind. P.* ii. 49 θεὸς ἅπαν ἐπὶ ἐλπιδεοσσι τέκμαρ ἀνύεται, θεὸς ὁ καὶ πτερδεντ' αἰετὸν κίχεν . . . καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τιν' ἔκαμψε βροτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> οἶ' ἀννεάζει *Tucker.*

<sup>3</sup> ἄτας ἀπάταν μεταλοῦς *Tucker*, 'a mischief and a mock, with sorrow in its train': the genitive as in *Ag.* 373, 765. (The accent on the MS. μεταλοῦς was at first a circumflex.) <sup>4</sup> ἐμφερῆ *Tucker.*

<sup>5</sup> 'Speech,' or 'expression' (*cf.* πατρὸς αὐδᾶν *Cho.* 827), meaning the epithet βουῖνιν, which is repeated in *v.* 784. It may be inferred that βουῖνός was a local word in Argos. It was used about Cyrene (*Hdt.* iv. 199), and in Syracusan poetry (*Phrynichus* p. 355 *Lobeck*), and there was a sanctuary of Ἥρα Βουναία at Corinth (*Pausan.* ii. 4. 7); all these are Dorian peoples. Whatever its origin, it was regarded as an alien or foreign word by *Philemon* (*Kock CAF* ii. 491, 521), and the grammarians; though it is frequent in the Alexandrian version of the *LXX*, and came later into general use : *Dindorf* in *Steph. Thesaur.*

<sup>6</sup> λινοσινεῖ here and *v.* 138 *Tucker* and *Buecheler.*

When all proves well, then payment of due offerings follows free<sup>1</sup> unto the gods—where death be absent.<sup>2</sup> O<sup>13</sup> trouble of undeterminable end! Whither will this wave carry me?

I implore the grace of hilly Apia (the outlandish utterance well, O land, thou kennest), and oft I fall on my Sidonian veil with linen-marring rent.

The oar and our timber's linen-woven sea-tight build<sup>3</sup> <sup>14</sup> still sped me by the wind's aid without storm; and I complain not: so likewise may the all-seeing Father bring the end at length to pass in graciousness,

That the great seed of an august Mother may escape unwedded, unsubdued, ah me! the beds of men.

And may his Daughter, the pure Virgin, that owns the <sup>15</sup> stately portal-walls,<sup>4</sup> be fain as I am fain to look upon me for my preservation<sup>5</sup>; and, wroth at this pursuit, come with all her might, maiden to a maiden's rescue,

That the great seed of an august Mother may escape<sup>6</sup> unwedded, unsubdued, ah me! the beds of men.

Else with our boughs will we, a dark sun-smitten race,<sup>16</sup> approach that nether Zeus, that most hospitable Zeus of

<sup>1</sup> Lucian iii. 498 τὸ δὲ σὸν κατὰ χειρὸς ἐπίδρομον . . .

<sup>2</sup> The argument is the common one, 'Who shall praise the most High in the grave, instead of them which live and give thanks? Thanks-giving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not,' Ecclesiasticus xvii. 28.

<sup>3</sup> 'Structure,' 'fabric'; a lyric use.

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of ἐνώπια see Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*, and Leaf on © 435. This is a reference to some actual shrine of Artemis. It was customary to invoke divinities by flattering epithets and mention of the seats where they were worshipped (Walz *Rhet.* ix. p. 135; a typical example is the opening of Pind. *O.* xiv.); and ἔχων was a common formula in describing such possessions; e.g. *Ar. Nub.* 595 sqq., *A. P.* 251, 273, and often in the Orphic hymns.

<sup>5</sup> I have translated ἀσφαλέα instead of ἀσφαλές (*cf.* v. 363), and in what follows have adopted the conjectures πάντι δὲ σθένει διωγμοῖς ἀσχαλῶσ' . . .

the departed ; for if we fail to win the Olympian gods, we will perish by the halter !

Ah Zeus, 'tis through ire against Io<sup>1</sup> that vengeance pursueth (us) from above ! I ken thy Consort's heaven-170 subduing spite ! for 'tis from a rough gale a stormy sea arises.

And shall not Zeus be convicted<sup>2</sup> then by just arguments of neglecting the Cow's offspring that himself begat<sup>3</sup> of old, if now he hold his face averted at our prayers ? Nay, but 180 let him give good ear from on high when now we call upon him !

Ah Zeus, 'tis through ire against Io that vengeance pursueth from above ! I ken thy Consort's heaven-subduing spite ! for 'tis from a rough gale a stormy sea arises.

*Danaus.* Children, ye must be prudent. Prudent sea-captain was your old trusty father here ye came with ; and so now for our land-faring have I taken thought, and charge you register my words, inscribing them on the tables of your mind. I descry dust, which is the voiceless harbinger of a host<sup>4</sup> :—the sockets of their axles are not silent :—and I discern a throng equipped with spear and shield, with horses and curved chariots. It may be they are the rulers 190 of the land, informed by messengers, and coming to spy upon us : but be it with peaceable intent or whetted with savage anger that (the host) is pushing onward this advance, it were wiser, my daughters, on all accounts, to go

<sup>1</sup> *Ἰοῦς* ἰφ Hermann.

<sup>2</sup> Interrogative punctuation is necessary in any case. I have translated ἐλέγξεται (Markscheffel) instead of ἐνεύξεται. If Porson's ἐνεύξεται is right, then I think a further alteration is required of λόγοις to ψόγοις, 'shall not Zeus be liable then to just reproaches, for having neglected . . .'

<sup>3</sup> γόνυ (= φύσει) is a legal term, χέσει, ποιήσει 'by adoption.'

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 8.

and seat yourselves at yonder high place of the gods of meeting—better than a castle is an altar; an invulnerable shield. Go then with all speed, and in solemn form, holding in your left hands the white-wreathed petitionary boughs wherewith Zeus Merciful is worshipped, reply to the strangers (as beseemeth immigrants) in humble plaintive 200 language of sore need, telling them plainly the story of this unbloody flight. And let your utterance be attended before all by absence of boldness, and let that which is not wanton proceed from a quiet eye out of faces with a modest front.<sup>1</sup> And be neither forward nor lagging in your speech—the race here is exceeding jealous.<sup>2</sup> And mind thee to be submissive—thou art a needy foreign fugitive—for it beseemeth not the weaker to be blusterous.

*Chor.* Father, thou speakest prudently to prudent ears; 210 and I will observe these good charges of thine to be mindful<sup>3</sup>: —may Zeus our ancestor regard!

*Dan.*<sup>4</sup> Yea, may he regard with favourable eye!

*Chor.* I would fain be seated nigh thee even now.

*Dan.* Tarry not, then, but secure means (*i.e.* of carrying out your purpose).

*Chor.* O Zeus, have pity upon our labours ere we be undone!

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ μετωποσωφρόνων ἴτω προσώπων Porson; a thoroughly Aeschylean ῥῆμα γομποφαγές. *A. P.* ii. 333 ἐπ' ἀπλοκάμφ δὲ μετώπῳ ἦστο σαοφροσύνη. Tucker conjectures κατωποσωφρόνων 'downcast in modesty': but his objection to Porson's word, that the form of the compound should be σωφρονομετώπων, is by no means fatal: *cf.* πτερυγῶκῆς *P. V.* 302, ποδάκης, ποδήνεμος, πόδαβρος, τρίχουλος, πύγαργος, χειρίσοφος, χειρόχωλος.

<sup>2</sup> Impatient, intolerant, prone to take offence.

<sup>3</sup> If the text is sound, μεμνήσθαι must be taken, I think, as depending on τάσδε ἐφετμάς: *cf.* Lucian *Tragoedopodagra* v. 271 μύστης με σιγῶν ὄρκος οὐκ ἐὰ φράσαι, 'the oath to be silent.'

<sup>4</sup> In the arrangement of these lines I have followed Hermann. The distribution of them between the speakers must remain uncertain.

*Dan.* If he be willing, it will end well. Call now also upon yonder son<sup>1</sup> of Zeus.

*Chor.* We call, upon the saving rays of the Sun.

*Dan.* And pure Apollo, the god that was banished out 220 of heaven.

*Chor.* Acquainted with this portion, he may feel compassion for those on earth.

*Dan.* So may he feel, and graciously stand by us!

*Chor.* Which further of these divinities am I to call upon?

*Dan.* I see a trident yonder, symbol of a god.

*Chor.* Well, he hath given us good speed hither, and may he likewise give us good welcome in the land.

*Dan.* Here now is Hermes,<sup>2</sup> after the fashion of the Greeks.

*Chor.* Then let him make proclamation of good tidings to free ears!

*Dan.* And make obeisance to the common altar of all these lords, and seat yourselves in sanctuary like a flock of doves in fear of hawks like-plumaged—the kinsmen your 230 enemies who would pollute the race. Shall bird prey on bird and be pure? And how should one be pure that takes from an unwilling father<sup>3</sup> an unwilling bride? If he do so, he shall not escape arraignment for outrage<sup>4</sup> even in the house of Hades after death. There too ('tis said<sup>5</sup>) another

<sup>1</sup> Ζηνός ἱνιν Kiehl (Bamberger), and Tucker, who argues fully against the MS. ἔρνιν.

<sup>2</sup> Kueck would read κῆρυξ ὅδ' ἄλλος, 'this other is a herald,' supposing Ἐρμῆς to be an explanatory note.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. 528. 15, Apoll. Rhod. iii. 38.

<sup>4</sup> φύγη ματαίων αἰτίας Schuetz for μάταιον: as in Attic βιαίων δίκην, παρανόμων γραφήν.

<sup>5</sup> The doctrine comes appropriately from an inhabitant of Egypt, for this was the function of Osiris (Wilkinson *Ancient Egyptians* iii. pp. 466-470); but the qualification ὡς λόγος is characteristically Greek: Socrates in Plat. *Phædo* 107 D prefaces his long account (ending

Zeus holds among the departed a last judgment upon sins. Consider and answer in such terms, to the end that your cause may be triumphant.

(*Enter the KING, attended by a retinue.*)

*King.* To what land may we ascribe<sup>1</sup> this company, attired<sup>2</sup> unGreek-wise and flaunting in outlandish vestures and fine woofs? For the women's raiment is not Argive, nor from Greece at all.<sup>3</sup> And how ye ventured so undauntedly to come into the country, unannounced by herald, unchampioned by patron, and without guides—it is a marvel. Branches, however, in petitioners' wise have been laid by you<sup>4</sup> before the gods of meeting: this alone will the land of Greece agree in guessing<sup>5</sup>:—so likewise there are many things might fairly have been conjectured, were there not speech to inform my presence.<sup>6</sup>

*Chor.* Touching our attire thy language is unerring: but how am I in my turn to address thee? As a commoner, or as a warden with the rod of Hermes,<sup>6</sup> or as chief ruler of the city?

*King.* For that, you may answer me with confidence<sup>7</sup>—for p. 114 c) with λέγεται δὲ οὕτως, and that in the *Axiochus* pp. 371-2 he professes to have received from Gobryes the Mage, and offers it for what it is worth.

<sup>1</sup> προσφωνῶμεν Weil.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ πᾶν Tucker.

<sup>3</sup> παρ' ἑμῶν Pearson.

<sup>4</sup> For συνοίσεται Paley quotes Eur. *Ion.* 705, *El.* 52; but the phrase is difficult to understand.

<sup>5</sup> Soph. *El.* 3, Ar. *Av.* 548.

<sup>6</sup> Reading ἡ τηρὸν Ἐρμούραβδον: ἱερόραβδον Schuetz 'with sacred wand.'

<sup>7</sup> This is clearly the meaning; but it cannot be expressed by the corrupted MS. πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀμείβου καὶ λέγεται εὐθαρσεῖς ἐμοί, because πρὸς ταῦτα or πρὸς τὰδε mean 'in face of this,' 'since this is so,' ὡς ᾧδ' ἐχόντων τῶνδε. The text must have arisen, I think, from a gloss upon τούτων ἀμείβου γ' εἵνεκ' εὐθαρσῆς ἐμοί.



I am the son of Palaecthon the earth-born, Pelasgus, chieftain of this country: and the people that enjoys the fruit of it is named *Pelasgian* accordingly after me their king. Over all the region through which passes the pure Strymon<sup>1</sup> do I hold sway upon the western side; and I reckon as my borders the land of the Perrhaebi and the parts beyond Pindus, near the Paeones, and the mountain of Dodona; and another boundary that cuts short my realm is the liquid boundary of the sea: over all on the hither side of these limits do I rule.

This plain of the Apian land itself has long borne its name in honour of a mediciner of old: from Naupactus on the further shore came *Apis*, leech and seer, son of Apollo, and purged this land of deadly monsters—a fell colony of swarming serpents—wrathful plagues<sup>2</sup> which Earth had sent up on pollution by ancient deeds of blood. For these did *Apis* by surgery and spell work cures to satisfaction, and by way of meed won from the land of Argos mention in her prayers.

Now that you have<sup>3</sup> my warranties,<sup>4</sup> declare your race and speak further<sup>5</sup>—only a long oration this people doth not like.

*Chor.* Our tale is brief and clear. We claim to be of Argive race, the seed of a Cow blest in offspring; and the truth of this my argument shall fully clinch.

*King.* Stranger women, your story passeth my belief—how this race of yours can be of Argos. For you are liker to women of Libya, and in no wise to the natives of this land:

<sup>1</sup> ἦς δὲ ἄγνος ἔρχεται Στρυμόν Wordsworth.

<sup>2</sup> μηνιταῖ ἄχνη (*Cho.* 584) or μηνιταιαχῆ? Such visitations, and blights, and droughts and so on were regarded as due to the resentment (μῆνις) of the Chthonic powers, aroused by polluting blood. Lobeck *Aglaophani.* p. 637:

<sup>3</sup> ἔχουσ' ἂν ἦδη.

<sup>4</sup> 'Credentials,' as in *v.* 54.

<sup>5</sup> πρόσω Robert. ; τὸρῶς 'clearly,' Tucker.

—the Nile too might nurture such a breed: and similar is the Cyprian impress that hath been stamped by male artificers upon female forms. And of such aspect<sup>1</sup> I have<sup>2</sup> heard there are Nomad women, pillion-riding upon camels going horse-fashion, inhabiting a country neighbouring the Ethiopians. And had ye been armed with the bow, I had surely taken you for the unmated flesh-fed Amazons.—But instruction will inform me better how your stock and seed is Argive.

*Chor*<sup>2</sup>. Say they that in this land of Argos Io upon a time was ward of Hera's temple?

*King*. She was most certainly; the tradition prevails widely.

*Chor*. There is a story also, is there not? that Zeus had<sup>3</sup> mortal intercourse?

*King*. Aye, and this entanglement<sup>3</sup> was not hid from Hera.

*Chor*. What then was the issue of this royal feud?

*King*. The goddess of Argos turned the woman into a cow.

*Chor*. And when a horned cow, did not Zeus approach her still?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *τοίας τ' ἀκούω* Tucker for *Ἰνδοῦς τ' ἀκούω*, taking *Ἰνδοῦς* to have been originally a note explaining who these Nomads were. This is better than Heimsoeth's conjecture, reading *τοίας* in the place of *εἶναι*.

<sup>2</sup> The speakers are not indicated in the MS., so that the arrangement of the dialogue depends only upon conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> *τὰμπαλάγματα*, restored by Hermann from Hesychius with the confirmation of the schol. Only it cannot mean, as he supposed, 'embraces': *ἐμπαλάσσειν* is a synonym of *ἐμπλέκειν*, to *ensnare*, *entmesh*, *entangle*: Hdt. vii. 85 *ἐν ἔρκεισι*, Thuc. vii. 84, Ael. *N. A.* v. 39, vi. 24, xii. 47, xiv. 7, xv. 1, xvi. 25; and *ἐμπαλάγματα* (rightly explained by Hesychius as *αἱ ἐμπλοκαί*) means the *liaison*, an entanglement in the snares of love, *δίκτηα Κύπριδος* Ibycus, *Ἀφροδίτας ἔρκεισιν* Ariphron; cf. Lucret. iv. 1145-8.

<sup>4</sup> *ἔτ'* Schuetz for *ἐπ'* This is confirmed by Lucian i. 305 ZEF. *νῦν δὲ ἡ*

*King.* So they say, in the likeness of a stallion bull.

*Chor.* How then did his stubborn consort reply to that?

*King.* She set the all-seeing one to keep watch over the cow.

*Chor.* Who was this all-seeing herdsman with a single charge?

*King.* Argus, a son of Earth, who was slain by Hermes.

*Chor.* And what else did she devise against the hapless <sup>310</sup> cow?

*King.* A cattle-driving sting<sup>1</sup> to madden her.

*Chor.* Those by the Nile call it an *oestrus*.

*King.* Very well:—she was driven in a long course out of the land.

*Chor.* This account too agrees with mine entirely.

*King.* Further, she came to Canopus and to Memphis.

*Chor.* Aye, and there did Zeus engender issue by laying on of hands.<sup>2</sup>

*King.* And who is it claims to be the Zeus-begotten calf?

*Chor.* Epaphus, so named after laying on of hands.

< *King.* And who was born of Epaphus? ><sup>3</sup>

*Chor.* Libya, reaping the fruit of the largest <portion><sup>4</sup> of the earth.

*King.* And what other offspring of hers have you to tell of? <sup>320</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἡρα τοιαύτην ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν ξηλοτυπήσασα ὅτι πάνυ ἐώρα ἐρώντα τον Δία. NOT. νῦν οὖν ἔτι ἐρᾷ τῆς βοός; ΖΕΦ. καὶ μάλα' καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς Αἴγυπτον αὐτὴν ἔπεμψε κτέ. Here (as in i. 207) Lucian is following the Aeschylean version of the story.

<sup>2</sup> μύωψ means either an *ox-goad* or an *ox-fly*, οἰστρος either an *ox-fly* or a *frenzied impulse of passion*, and the remark of the Chorus hints at variations in the story due to this ambiguity.

<sup>3</sup> ῥυσίων is merely a synonym of ἐφάψεως in its sense of 'seizure,' as ἀρρυσίαστος (v. 606) is of ἀνέπαφος.

<sup>4</sup> A line has been lost to this effect.

<sup>5</sup> γῆς <μέρος> Todt or <λάχος> Zakas:—not <ὄνομα> γῆς, as Porson conjectured; the land was called after the heroine (Isocrat. p. 223 c), not the heroine after the land.

*Chor.* Belos, with two sons ; the father of my father here.

*King.* Tell me now what is his most sapient name.<sup>1</sup>

*Chor.* Danaus ; and there is a brother of him with fifty sons.

*King.* Disclose to me his name also without grudging.

*Chor.* Aegyptus. And now, knowing our descent of old, act I pray thee so as to restore<sup>2</sup> a band which is from Argos.

*King.* You appear, certainly,<sup>3</sup> to belong originally to this land : but how did you bring yourselves to leave your father's home ? What blow of fortune fell upon you ?

*Chor.* King of the Pelasgians, human misfortunes are of 330 varying sort ; nowhere will you find a matching plume<sup>4</sup> of sorrow. For who ever dreamed that kindred, native once, would bring such an unlooked-for flight<sup>5</sup> (taking wing through abhorrence of wedded union) to an end at the shore of Argos ?

*King.* Tell me what is the petition you make by these gods of meeting, with white-wreathed bows fresh-plucked in your hands ?

*Chor.* That I may not become a handmaid to the sons of Aegyptus.

*King.* By reason of hatred, mean you ? or unlawfulness ?

*Chor.* Nay who would object<sup>6</sup> to masters that they *loved* ?

<sup>1</sup> The epithet by a common idiom is transferred from the person to the name. It is appropriate to the inventive Danaus, though strictly the king could not be aware of this.

<sup>2</sup> Reading ἀνοστήσαι (Markscheffel) or ἀνοστήσης (Victorius).

<sup>3</sup> δοκεῖτε < δῆ > μοι Turnebus, < μέν > μοι Zakas.

<sup>4</sup> A variation of the metaphorical adjective δόμπτερος 'of like feather.'

<sup>5</sup> τήνδε . . . φυγῆν is in any case the object, not the subject, of κέλσειν. If κέλσειν μ' is read with Schuetz, μεταπτοιοῦσαν will agree with με.

<sup>6</sup> ὄνοιτο Robortellus (as ὄνοταζόμεναι v. 10) for ὄνοιτο.

*King.* Power is thereby<sup>1</sup> multiplied in the world . . . . 340

*Chor.* Aye, and if things go ill, divorce is easy.

*King.* How then am I to show duty towards you?

*Chor.* By refusing to surrender us again at the demand of Aegyptus' sons.

*King.* That is a hard<sup>2</sup> saying—to undertake the peril of a war.

*Chor.* Nay but Justice champions those that side with her.

*King.* Aye, supposing I had borne a part in the matter from the first.<sup>3</sup>

*Chor.* Show thou reverence to the helm of the city thus engarlanded.

*King.* I shudder as I regard these holy places overshadowed.

*Chor.* Nevertheless,<sup>4</sup> grievous is the wrath of Zeus Petitionary.

Son of Palaecthon, hearken unto me with gracious heart! 350  
Behold me, thy petitioner, a fugitive running hither and thither like a wolf-chased heifer on precipitous rocks, where having found security she lows, telling the herdsman of her trouble.

*King.* I see the company of the gods of meeting yonder nodding<sup>5</sup> beneath the shade of fresh-plucked bows.—May 360  
this affair of claimants upon the city's friendship end only without mischief! And let no quarrel arise for the state

<sup>1</sup> By intermarriage of relations.

<sup>2</sup> 'A serious undertaking you propose.'

<sup>3</sup> So Tucker, reading  $\tilde{\eta}$  the first person.

<sup>4</sup>  $\gamma\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota$  means 'Yes, but all the same,' 'still you must remember that': *Theb.* 703, 1035, *Ag.* 929, *Soph. El.* 398, *Rhes.* 579. Unless, therefore, there is a lacuna before this line, it would seem that the Chorus understand the King to mean 'I tremble to think of my responsibility.'

<sup>5</sup> As it were 'nodding assent':  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu\theta'$  Bamberger for  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\ \theta'$ .

from causes unforeseen and unforested; for the state hath no need of any such.

*Chor.* Yea may the suppliant-law of Zeus Apportioner regard our flight that it bring not any mischief! Let thine old experience learn from one of younger birth: if thou regard a suppliant, thou (shalt) not (see) penury<sup>1</sup> . . . . . from a holy man.

*King.* 'Tis not my house at the hearth whereof ye sit: if the city be incurring pollution in its commonalty, to work out the cure must be the people's common business. For myself, I will pledge no promise before I have conferred with all the citizens about the case.

*Chor.* Thou art the city, thou art the people! The altar, that is the country's hearth, with sovereignty unchallenged thou rulest by a monarch's nod, and determinest every matter upon a throne of undivided sway. Beware pollution!

*King.* Pollution be upon my foes! But you I am unable to assist without harm.—Yet it likes me not<sup>2</sup> either to disregard these supplications:—I am perplexed and my heart afraid, whether to act or not to act, and secure success.<sup>3</sup>

*Chor.* Have regard to the Watcher upon high, the pro-

<sup>1</sup> οὐ λιπερν . . . . , some form of λιπερνής or λιπερνήτης, a word used by Archilochus (Bergk II p. 396, Schneider *Callim.* II p. 211) and explained in the Lexicons (Et. Mag., Zonaras, Suid.) by πτωχός. The MS. has οὐν περ with schol. οὐ πτωχεύσεις. After this mutilated word there is a line lost, and then some further corruption now beyond restoring. The purport appears to have been 'the sacrifices of a godly man are acceptable in the sight of heaven, however small they may be,' a doctrine illustrated by Orelli-Hirschfelder on Hor. C. iii. 23. 18, Porph. *de abst.* ii. 15, and attributed to Pythagoras by Iamblich. *Vit. Pyth.* 27 § 122.

<sup>2</sup> A poetical sense of εὐφρων common in Aeschylus: δύσφρονος has the opposite sense in *v.* 399.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eur. *I.A.* 56. Tucker reads καὶ τύχην ἔαν 'or not to act and so let fortune take her course.'

tector of those afflicted upon earth, who crouching at their neighbours' feet obtain not lawful justice. The wrath of Zeus Petitionary abides in store for such as are unsoftened 390 by the complaints of a sufferer.

*King.* If the sons of Aegyptus are your masters by the law of the land, as claiming to be next of kin, who would care to contest their right? You must plead according to the laws of your own country that they have no authority over you.<sup>1</sup>

*Chor.* Never, *never*<sup>2</sup> may I become subject to the mastery of these men! Flight under the stars<sup>3</sup> I determine upon for avoidance of an odious union! Take thou Justice upon thy 400 side and judge that is righteous before heaven.

*King.* No easy matter this for judgment: ask me not to judge. I said before, though I be ruler, I will not do this without the public will, for fear lest<sup>4</sup> afterward (should some untoward<sup>5</sup> thing befall) the people should say 'Through regarding immigrants thou hast ruined the country.'

*Chor.* Both sides herein doth Zeus of Blood-kindred with his wavering balance overlook, awarding, as is meet, wrong to the wicked<sup>6</sup> and righteousness to the godly: since the 410 balance is thus equitably poised, what are you to rue hereafter for having done<sup>7</sup> justice?

<sup>1</sup> Legal language of the baldest and most unsentimental kind.

<sup>2</sup> μή τί ποτ' οὐν. . . . Here οὐν contributes merely emphasis: that is the effect of it *in all its combinations* except οὐκ οὐν, οὐκοῦν.

<sup>3</sup> ὕπαστρον φυγάν (Heath) is to be taken together. For this proverbial phrase see Jebb on *O. T.* 795.

<sup>4</sup> μή καί ποτε Canter: cf. Hom. Χ104 sqq. ὡς μήποτε would be good, as *Eum.* 883, *Rhes.* 50.

<sup>5</sup> Tucker's conjecture may be right, εἰ ποῦ τι κάλλοιον τύχοι.

<sup>6</sup> ἄξια ἀξίων, that is; rewarding them after their iniquities; see Paley's note.

<sup>7</sup> τί . . . μεταλγεῖς, τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξας; The MS. has ἔρξαι which I have corrected. Those to whom this 'prospective' use of the present tense is not familiar may compare *Cho.* 507, *P. V.* 529, 540, *Soph.*

*King.* We need deep preserving thought, for an eye of clear vision, not overmuch confused with wine, to descend like a diver into the depth, for means whereby this matter may bring no mischief in the first place on the state, and may turn out well for ourselves also; whereby neither struggle may seize prizes, nor yet by surrendering you from your seats of sanctuary we may bring upon us the heavy haunting vengeance of that destroying Power who releases 420 not his victim even in the house of death.<sup>1</sup> Think you not we need preserving thought?

*Chor.* Take thou thought, and show thyself a righteous patron altogether! Betray not the fugitive that hath been cast out and hurried from afar ungodly! See me not ravished from this sanctuary of many gods, O thou that 430 hast full sovereignty of the land, but perceive the lewdness of the men, and beware the wrath of heaven!

Suffer not thine eyes to behold the suppliant dragged in despite of justice from the images like a horse by the frontlet, and rude clutchings of my fine-woven robes! For be 440 assured of this, that whichever end thou bring to pass, it remaineth unto thy children and thy house to make payment of like equity. Consider this just ordinance of God.

*King.* I have considered; and this is what the matter comes to—war with these or those I cannot choose but undertake; 'tis wedged firm as a ship hauled to by the 450 windlass, and there is no concluding without hurt. Now, when goods are plundered from a house, thanks to Zeus of Property other goods may come<sup>2</sup>; and a tongue that hath

*Philoct.* 117 ὡς τοῦτό γ' ἔρξας δύο φέρει δωρήματα, *Rhes.* 581, 596, *Eur. I. T.* 977-80, *El.* 973 βλάβη δὲ δὴ τί πατρὶ τιμωρῶν σέθεν;

<sup>1</sup> *Eum.* 175.

<sup>2</sup> The line that follows is omitted as an insertion. The form as well as the sentiment of this passage is exactly like *Ag.* 995-1006.



shot an arrow out of place—one saying may be the healer of another.<sup>1</sup> But to avoid shedding<sup>2</sup> of kindred blood, must 460 sacrifice indeed be made, and many victims fall in deliverance to many gods. Of a truth I am fatally involved in<sup>3</sup> this quarrel, though<sup>4</sup> in sorrows I would rather be unskilled than practised:—but may all go well and prove my judgment false<sup>5</sup>!

*Chor.* Hear now the conclusion of all our humble supplications.

*King.* I hear; say on; it shall not escape me.

*Chor.* I have breast-bands and girdles to gather up my robes.

*King.* Such things are suitable to the condition<sup>6</sup> of women.

*Chor.* Very well:—by means of these understand we have a rare expedient,—

*King.* Tell me what saying is this you mean to utter? 470

*Chor.* Unless thou consent to afford our company some pledge,—

*King.* To what effect proceeds the expedient of your sashes?

*Chor.* To adorn these images with tablets of a strange sort.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another line is here ejected as an illustrative quotation.

<sup>2</sup> The argument to be expected logically is 'but to repair kindred bloodshed, when it has once taken place, is impossible.' I think (with Schuetz and Weil) that that link is omitted and left to be inferred, and that the connexion of thought is 'but kindred blood (since it is irreparable) must by all means be averted.'

<sup>3</sup> *νείκους τοῦδ' ἔσω παροίχομαι* Tucker: cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 649 *ut quidem hercle in medium ego hodie pessime processerim.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 94.

<sup>5</sup> Literally 'contrary to my conviction.'

<sup>6</sup> *τύχη* (Turnebus) *γυναικῶν ταῦτα συμπερη πέλει* (cod. Guelf).

<sup>7</sup> For the usual *πίνακες* see Mayor on Juv. *l.* 55, and my forthcoming note on Herodas *iv.* 19.

*King.* Thy words are riddling; come, explain in simple terms.

*Chor.* To hang ourselves forthwith from these gods.

*King.* Your threat cuts my heart like a whip.

*Chor.* Thou takest it, for I gave it clearer vision.<sup>1</sup>

*King.* Aye, but far from simple<sup>2</sup> is the difficulty of the case—there comes upon me like a river a multitude of troubles. It is a fathomless and impassable ocean of ruin I have launched upon, and nowhere is there a haven from 480 distress. If I refuse to perform this service for you, there is your warning of pollution untranscendable<sup>3</sup>: while if I take my stand before the walls and try the issue of battle with the sons of Aegyptus, your kinsmen, the expense comes surely to a sore amount—men's blood to stain the ground for the sake of women.

Still, I must needs hold in awe the wrath of Zeus Petitioner, for that is the supremest fear on earth.—Do thou, aged father of these maids, take straightway in thine arms these 490 boughs, and lay them upon other altars of the country's deities, that all the people may see the token of this petitioning, and talk be not uttered sharply against me<sup>4</sup>—for

<sup>1</sup> Not 'I have given you'; cf. *P. V.* 515. *Cho.* 661, 534, 843, *Soph. O.C.* 74. *Critias Trag. fr. 1.* 26 τυφλώσας, and the adjectives τυφλός, ἀλαός (as we speak of a 'blind fence'), κωφός.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ μὴν ἀπλῆ γε δύσπάλαιστα πράγματα, κακῶν δὲ ('but') πλήθος . . . I have restored οὐ μὴν ἀπλῆ γε for καὶ μὴν πολλαχῆ γε which is an interpretation of it. ἀπλῆ refers to ἀπλῶς in *v.* 473, 'yes, your answer is plain and simple enough; but it is not a simple problem that confronts me.' ἀπλοῦς *simplex* means both 'simple' and 'single' and the play upon the word can hardly be expressed in modern English.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'unsurmountable.'

<sup>4</sup> My simple correction ἐμοῦ κάτ' removes at once both difficulties of construction. ἀπορρίπτειν (ρίπτειν, ἐκρίπτειν *dicta iacere, iactare*) λόγον, ἔπος is a common phrase, e.g. *Hdt. i.* 153, *iv.* 142, *vi.* 69, *vii.* 13, *viii.* 92. φιλαίτιος governs the genitive ἀρχῆς as it governs the genitive θεῶν in *Plat. Legg.* 903 Ε τῷ φιλαίτιῳ τῆς ἀμελείας πέρι θεῶν 'the man who is fond of reproaching the gods for their neglect.'—There is no

the people is apt to complain against authority. It may be that some will feel compassion at the sight, and resent the lewdness of the troop of males, and the people be moved to greater friendliness toward you: for all men show sympathy with the weaker.

*Dan.* We hold it of much value to have found a champion 500 both compassionate and prosperous.<sup>1</sup> But send thou with us also a retinue and guides of the country, that we may find altars at the temple fronts and (worshipped) seats belonging to the city-gods, and that safety may attend our progress through the town: the nature of our aspect is dissimilar—Nile breeds a race unlike the Inachus. Beware lest rashness create dislike<sup>2</sup>—friends ere now<sup>3</sup> have been slain in misapprehension.

*King.* March on, my men, for the stranger says well: lead on to altars in the town and sanctuaries. And you 510 must not have long speech with such as meet you by the way<sup>4</sup> while you are conducting our sea-farer to the dwellings of the gods.

(DANAUS *departs with an escort.*)

*Chor.* To him thou hast spoken, and let him go with his instructions: but I, what shall I do? Where<sup>5</sup> dost thou assign me security?

objection to the elision of *κάτα*: if a preposition can be placed after the noun, it can also be elided. Examples in iambic verse are *Suḗp.* 260 ἦς δὲ ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται, *Ag.* 127 βωμοῦ πατρῶν δ' ἀντ' (ἀντὶ follows its case in *Lycophr.* 94 and 365), *Eur. I. A.* 966 ὄν μετ' ἐστρατευόμεν, *Ar. Lys.* 1146 χώραν ἦς ὕπ' εἶ πεπόνθατε, and with a pause as here, *Eur. Bacch.* 722 θηρώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ὕπ'· ἀλλ' ἔπεισθέ μοι.

<sup>1</sup> I see no reason to reject the MS. reading εἶ βέοντα: the point is, a patron with a kind heart and an influential position—who has at once the will and the power to protect.

<sup>2</sup> φθόνον Mueller-Struebing for φόβον: an unfavourable impression, hostility, resentment, displeasure, *invidiam*.

<sup>3</sup> ἦδη Tucker for καὶ δὴ.

<sup>4</sup> ξυμβολοῦσιν Valckenaer.

<sup>5</sup> Or 'wherein.'

*King.* Your boughs leave there, in token of your distress.

*Chor.* There, I leave them so at (the direction of) thy hand<sup>1</sup> and word.

*King.* Betake your feet now unto this smooth green.

*Chor.* Why, how should an open green protect me?

*King.* We will never give you up to wingéd creatures' ravishment.

*Chor.* But what if to foes worse than fell serpents! 520

*King.* Fair words; prithee, since you have been spoken fair!

*Chor.* It is no wonder in my state of fear I should be fretful.

*King.* No, exceeding terror is ever uncontrolled.<sup>2</sup>

*Chor.* Do thou comfort me both by act and word!

*King.* Come now, your father will not leave you alone long. I go<sup>3</sup> now to convene the people of the country that I may make their general body friendly; and I will instruct your father what language he should use. Remain thou therefore, and entreat the gods of this country with prayer 530 for what your heart desires. I will go to set this matter forward: and may I be attended by persuasion and effectual success!

[*The KING departs.*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 148.

<sup>2</sup> αἰ γ' ἀναρκτόν ἐστι δεῖμ' ἐξαισίον is my correction of αἰ δ' ἀνάκτων ἐστὶ . . . δεῖμ' ἐξαισίον must be the subject of the sentence, and ἀνάκτων a corruption of the predicate, which naturally precedes. ἀψυχία γὰρ γλῶσσαν ἀρπάζει φόβος is the apology of the Chorus in a similar case, *Theb.* 245, 'panic runs away with the tongue,' bolting like a runaway horse (ἐκφόρος ἵππος) which has εὐαρκτον στόμα (*Pers.* 196) no longer. Rage has the same effect, *Ar. Ran.* 993 μόνον ὄπως μή σ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀρπάσας ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαῶν, or madness, *P. V.* 909, *Cho.* 1022 where Orestes, using this familiar simile of the race-course, speaks of his φρένες δύσαρκτοι.

αἰ γ' (suggested by Dindorf) is natural in a comment, as *P. V.* 42, Alexis 257 αἰ γ' ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τιν' εὕρισκει τέχνην.

<sup>3</sup> στείχω Weil.

*Chor.* O King of Kings, most blessed of the blessed, power most perfect among the perfect, Zeus all-happy, give ear and with hearty loathing defend thy seed from the lust of men, and their black-benched engine of destruction plunge into the glooming lake<sup>1</sup>! But on the women's side,<sup>2</sup> consider thou the long tradition of our line, and recall the sweet story of our ancestress, the woman of thy love. Show thyself mindful, O thou fondler of Io! We declare ourselves to be the seed of Zeus, by descent from a native of this land.<sup>3</sup>

Unto our mother's ancient foot-prints have I removed, the region of the watch upon her while she browsed the flowers,<sup>4</sup> that pasturing meadow whence, tormented<sup>5</sup> by the sting, distraught fled Io, travelling through many a tribe of men, and duly cleaving the surging strait asunder, made the further shore<sup>6</sup> her bourn.

And now she darts across the land of Asia,—right through sheep-grazing Phrygia, and passes the city of Teuthras among the Mysians, and the Lydian dells, speeding right across the

<sup>1</sup> The sea; the phrase is from the lyric vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> Adverbial, as Soph. *El.* 1071 τὰ δὲ πρὸς τέκνων, and geographical phrases like τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου in *v.* 261 above.

<sup>3</sup> Διαι τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι γὰρ ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἐνοίκου: the MS. δίας was corrected by Pauw, and I have restored ἐνοίκου for ἐνοικοι. The construction is ἀπ' ἐνοίκου τᾶσδε γὰρ.

<sup>4</sup> This detail, mentioned before in *v.* 43, is traditionary: Severus (Walz *Rhet.* I p. 537), following the usual version, according to which Io was changed by Zeus, says τιμῶσα ἢ γῆ τῆν τοῦ Διὸς ἐρωμένην ἄνθος ἀνήκε τῇ βολὴ νέμεσθαι.

<sup>5</sup> ἐρεθομένα Paley, which agrees metrically with the corresponding line, and is, as he shows, a most appropriate word. Against the MS. ἐρεσσομένα it may be further remarked that ἐρέσσειν is metaphorically used only to describe such actions as resemble the movement to and fro of oars or arms in rowing.

<sup>6</sup> διχῆ διατέμνουσα are to be taken together; the disarrangement of the words is a license assumed especially by lyric verse (Soph. *Ant.* 960 Jebb).

mountains of the Cilicians and Pamphylians, and over ever-flowing streams<sup>1</sup> and affluent soil, and the rich cornland of Aphrodite.<sup>2</sup>

So she arrives at last, still suffering injury<sup>3</sup> from the winged herdsman's weapon, at the pasturing demesne of Zeus, that snow-fed<sup>4</sup> meadow which the fury of Typho comes 570 upon, and at the water of Nile diseases may not touch, maddening with her sore indignities, and frenzied by the pain of Hera's torturing goad.

The mortals that were then dwellers in the land quaked with sickly fear at the unwonted sight, [when they beheld<sup>5</sup>] a creature monstrous of half-human shape—part cow, part woman<sup>6</sup>—and they were amazed at the prodigy.

And then at last who was it soothed poor wandering 580 stinging-tormented Io?

Zeus, lord through endless ages<sup>7</sup>. . . . . and by force of painless power<sup>8</sup> and by the breathing of his holy

<sup>1</sup> Reading *Λύδιά τε γύαλα, καὶ δι' ὄρων Κιλικῶν Παμφύλων τε, διορνυμένα τ' ἄμ ποταμοὺς ἀενάους* for τὰν ποταμοὺς.

<sup>2</sup> Phoenicia; so termed, as the schol. says, by reason of Byblus and Libanus, the famous seats of the worship of Thammuz and Astarte (Adonis and Aphrodite).

<sup>3</sup> *ἰκνεῖται δὴ σινουμένα* is my conjecture for *ἰκνεῖται δ' εἰσικνουμένου* with the letters *ου* written in erasure; at first no doubt it was *εἰσικνουμένη* the reading of cod. Guelf. (*σινουμένου* I think less likely, because the form *σινέεσθαι* is Ionic). Suid. *Σίνος: βλάβη. καὶ Σινούται: βλάπτεται*. Hesych. gives also *Συνούται* (sic): *λυπεῖται*.

<sup>4</sup> Egypt. The belief that the rising of the Nile was caused by the melting of snow on mountains in the interior was widely known and canvassed in antiquity. It has remained until our own day for the truth of it to be proved by Sir Henry Stanley (*Darkest Africa xxxix-xxxix*).

<sup>5</sup> There is more than one reason for supposing *ἐσορῶντες* an interpolation which has supplanted some adjective such as *δίμορφον*.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ μὲν βοός, τὰ δ' αὖ γυναικός.

<sup>7</sup> δι' αἰῶνος Hermann.

<sup>8</sup> *βία δ' ἀπηματοσθενεῖ* for *βία δ' ἀπημάντῳ σθένει* (the remark of the schol. *λείπει ὁ καὶ* shows that he read *βία*). My reading restores the

spirit was she stayed, and sheds the sorrowing shame of tears.<sup>1</sup>  
And having conceived a burden in very truth of Zeus, she  
bare a perfect son

Throughout long ages blessed. Whence every land doth 590  
cry aloud 'Of a surety this is the seed of gendering<sup>2</sup> Zeus;  
for who else could have stayed the distempers caused by  
Hera's plots? This is the act of Zeus; and you shall be  
right to call this race derived from Epaphus.'<sup>3</sup>

What god in heaven could I with reason call upon for acts  
more warrantable?<sup>4</sup>

Father himself and creator, the lord is he that by his own 600  
hand planted us, with might and ancient wisdom fashioner  
of our race, prosperer of all devices, even Zeus.

Is there none beneath whose authority he sits with lesser  
powers than a superior?

None is there sitting in a higher place, whose powers he  
holds in awe; but act is ready to his hand as word, to set  
afoot forthwith aught that his counselling<sup>5</sup> mind may lay  
before him.

construction and improves the rhythm by one of those compound  
adjectives, characteristically Aeschylean, which in MSS. are habitually  
corrupted in this fashion.

<sup>1</sup> Tears of grief and shame after she has been restored to human  
consciousness; compare her language in a lucid interval, *P. V.* 669 *seqq.*  
The phrase is in the ornater style of lyric. Weil quotes Musaeus *Hero*  
*and Leander* 173 αἰδοῦς ὑγρὸν ἔρευθος ἀποστάξουσα προσώπου, literally  
'exuding the moist blush of shame.' In Soph. *Ant.* 959 οὕτω τᾶς  
μανίας δεινὸν ἀποστάξει ἀνθηρόν τε μένος the verb is intransitive, 'so  
dire and exuberant is the rage that emanates from madness.'

<sup>2</sup> φυσίζου Schuetz.

<sup>3</sup> With the punctuation altered, the words admit the sense 'Call this  
the act of Zeus and this (his) race derived from Epaphus, and you shall  
be right.'

<sup>4</sup> 'What act on the part of any other god affords me greater justifica-  
tion for appealing to him?'

<sup>5</sup> βούλιος Auratus, rightly. The language alludes to the functions of  
the two bodies of legislature at Athens, the βουλή and the ἐκκλησία.

*Dan.* Comfort ye, my children! All is well on the part of the citizens; final decrees of the people have been passed.

*Chor.* O bless thee, our ambassador, for thy sweet 610 message! Tell us the purport of their decision—the course to which the majority of their suffrages inclines.

*Dan.* It was resolved by the Argives without dissent in such wise as made my old heart feel young again; for the air bristled with right hands uplifted as they passed this law in full assembly: that we be allowed to settle in this country, free, not liable to seizure, and with security from plunder of our goods: that neither native nor foreigner should carry us off; and should he proceed to apply force, 620 any of the landholders that withheld his aid should suffer loss of rights together with public banishment. Such was the moving speech the King of the Pelasgians made in our behalf, with warning that the city never let the wrath of Zeus Petitionary wax fat in time hereafter; telling them that double defilement arising before the city—from strangers and citizens at once—was a food of suffering past help. Hearing these words, the Argive nation, without waiting for crier, decreed by uplifted hands that so it be. It was the 630 Pelasgian people that heard the eloquent periods of the speech, and Zeus that brought about the issue.

*Chor.* Come then, let us utter for the Argives blessings in requital of their blessings. And may Zeus of Strangers

Measures originated in the Council (*βουλή*): a bill passing the Council became a *προβούλευμα*, which had then to be introduced and submitted for ratification to the Assembly sitting on the hill (*ἐκφέρεισθαι* or *εἰσφέρεισθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* or *τὸν δῆμον*). No such sanction is required for his policy by Zeus; he may execute his purposes at once without control.—The passage has not been explained before, nor correctly punctuated; the *antistrophe*, like the *strophe*, contains an answer to a question.—In *v.* 605 I have translated *κράτη*, the conjecture of H. Voss for *κάτω*. In *v.* 606 I am not quite sure of the construction—whether *πάρεστι* does not rather mean ‘he may.’



watch to their fulfilment the rewards that issue from a stranger's tongue, that they reach their perfect goal.<sup>1</sup>

Now is the moment, O ye gods divine, to give ear unto my utterance of orisons for the race, 640

That wanton Ares never with untuned cry may set this Pelasgian land on fire,<sup>2</sup>—Ares that reaps a human harvest in strange fields :

Because they had compassion upon us, and passed a kindly vote, and have reverence for the petitioners of Zeus, this sorry flock of us, 650

And refrained from scorning the women's cause and giving their vote upon the side of the males,

Having regard to that avenging wrath of Zeus,<sup>3</sup> so ill to battle with, that no house would have upon the roof defiling it, for heavy doth it settle there :

For they revere their kin petitioners of holy Zeus ; therefore with altars pure shall they win the favour of the gods. 660

Therefore from our overshadowed lips fly forth our zealous prayer :

Never may pestilence empty this city of her men, nor quarrel stain her soil with blood of native bodies :

But unculled be the flower of her youth, nor havoc-dealing Ares, the paramour of Aphrodite, crop their bloom. 670

And let the altar-steps that receive the elders<sup>4</sup> be thronged with reverend . . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *τέρμον' ἀμεμπτον προσαπαντῶν* Tucker, after Salvinius and Weil.

<sup>2</sup> This is the construction, but the emendation of the corrupted words is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> *Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορά τοι κότον* for *πράκτορά τε σκοπὸν*. Tucker argues effectually against *Δῖον σκοπόν* of the MS. *κότον* is due to Bamberger : for the use of *τοι* cf. Soph. *El.* 1469.

<sup>4</sup> So Paul. Silent. *Ambo* 217 has *ἀνδροδόκων βάρων*.

<sup>5</sup> *καὶ γεραροῖσι πρεσβυτοδόκοι < ~ — > θυμέλαι φλεόντων*. Some substantive has been ousted by *γεμόντων*, a gloss on *φλεόντων* (Hermann).

Thus may the state be ordered well, if they duly worship 680 mighty Zeus, and Zeus of Strangers above all, who upholdeth right by ancient law.

And tribute of the earth be brought forth ever new, we pray; and Artemis the Archeress watch over the child-bed of their women.

Nor any murderous havoc come upon this land to ravage it,

By arming Ares, the parent of tears, that fits not harp or 690 hymn, and the shout of war within their borders.

And the loathéd swarm of diseases settle far from the burghers' head, and to all their young folk Lyceus<sup>1</sup> be propitious.

And Zeus grant the land to yield her due of fruit with produce in all seasons,

And may their grazing cattle prove prolific, and by grace 700 of heaven may they flourish<sup>2</sup> altogether.

May bards offer hymns of praise upon their altars,<sup>3</sup> and forth from pure lips be uttered harp-attended song.

May the rights of the citizens be guarded well<sup>4</sup> by the popular power that controls the state, a prudent government with careful conference of counsel; and to strangers, 710 before appeal to arms, may they grant easy arbitration without suffering.

And the Gods who keep the land may they worship ever with the country's worship of laurel borne and oxen offered which their fathers used—for the honour of parents, that is

<sup>1</sup> Apollo in his character of *Destroyer*.

<sup>2</sup> θάλλειν Hermann.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'raise anthems at the altars.'

<sup>4</sup> φυλάσσοι δ' εὖ τὰ τίμι' ἄστοις τὸ δῆμιον: the citizens are necessarily mentioned as contrasted with the foreigners. τὰ τίμια are synonymous with τιμαί or γέρα (γέρα: τὰ τίμια Hesych., τίμιον γέρας v. 997): see L. Dindorf in Steph. *Thesaur. s.v. τίμιον*. (τιμὰς in the MS. was a marginal gloss.) ἄστοις is due to Bergk and δ' εὖ to Wecklein; δέ is required to begin the new paragraph.

written third among the commandments of Heaven's highest-honoured Law.<sup>1</sup>

*Dan.* Dear children, I commend these well-judged prayers; but you must not be alarmed to hear the unexpected news your father has to tell:—from this high 720 sanctuary, my conning-place, I see the vessel; it is distinct. Plain to me is the trimming of the sail and fending along the bulwarks, and the prow eyeing her way forward, obeying the rudder, that guides her at the ship's extremity, too well for those she is not friendly to<sup>2</sup>! And clear to view are seamen with swarthy limbs showing from white raiment. And the rest of the craft and all their armament are fully visible; and the leader has furled her sail and is approaching 730 shore rowed by all hands. Now you must face the matter with calm and orderly behaviour and not be unmindful of these divinities. I will come back presently with helpers and champions of our cause, for perchance a herald or mission may arrive, intending to lay hands on plunder and carry off—but there will be nought of this, have ye no fear of it. Still, it were better for you, should we be slow in succour, never for a moment to forget your means of safety here. Fear not, in good time and at the day appointed the 740 contemner of heaven shall be punished.

*Chor.* Father, I am afraid, with so swift wings the ships are coming, and there is no space of time before us.<sup>3</sup>

I am possessed of a truth by quaking dread whether there is any use at all in our long flight. I am undone, father, with terror.

<sup>1</sup> That is 'Let them observe the three great commandments,' second here among which is 'Obey the laws of the land.' It is indicated by the epithet ἐγγχωρίοις, while the transition to the third is made by γάρ, which refers to πατράϊς. This artificial method is characteristic of the elaborate lyric style.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖσιν οὐ φίλην Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> neque ullum in medio tempus.

*Dan.* Since the Argives' voté is absolute, my children, fear not, they will fight for thee, I am very sure.

*Chor.* Abandoned are the ravening sons of Aegyptus and 750 athirst for battle, and you know it too. In ships with ribs of timber and dark eyes they have sailed hither in effectual rage, with a great and swarthy multitude!

*Dan.* Aye but they will find a many here with arms well fined<sup>1</sup> under the heat of noonday.

*Chor.* But leave me not alone, I beseech thee, father! A woman left by herself is nought, there is no fighting in her.

Cruel of heart<sup>2</sup> and crafty of counsel, with wicked hearts, like ravens, recking nought of altars— 760

*Dan.* That would suit us<sup>3</sup> rarely, children, if they should incur the hate of heaven as well as thine!

*Chor.* They will never be so fearful, father, of these tridents and things sacred in the sight of heaven to refrain their hands from us.

Quite overweening, ravening rash as hounds with wicked rage, with no understanding of the gods—

*Dan.* Yet is there a saying that wolves are better than hounds; the byblus-fruit outdoeth not the wheat-ear.

*Chor.* They have<sup>4</sup> the passions of foul and violent mon- 770 sters; therefore must we guard against them speedily.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rid of all superfluous flesh: Antyllus (Stob. *Flor.* 101. 16) ὁ δὲ θερμὸς ἀὴρ σωμάτων δαπανητικός, ἰσχυαίνων καὶ καταρρινῶν τὰ συγκρίματα· εὐτονίαν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ εὐκίνησιν ἤπερ ὁ ψυχρὸς παρασκευάζει.

<sup>2</sup> οὐλόφρονης Valckenaer. They are interrupted by Danaus, and again at 767.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps ξυμφέροι γ' οὕτω, τέκνα 'at that rate': cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1149 p. 435 Blaydes.

<sup>4</sup> ἔχοντας Turnebus.

<sup>5</sup> τάχος Tucker, taking οὔτοι ταχεῖα in the next line to be a reply to it. If κράτος is genuine, it may refer to κρατεῖ in *v.* 769: 'They are far more terrible than dogs, so they may overcome us' (Wecklein).

*Dan.* By no means is the despatch of a sea-force speedy, nor is anchorage, or the carrying ashore of the securing cables: even when at anchor,<sup>1</sup> the shepherds of ships do not feel confidence forthwith, especially when they have come to a harbourless coast toward nightfall: when the sun is departing, night is wont to engender travail in the skilful pilot's mind. Thus a force cannot well be disembarked either, before the ship have gotten confidence in moorings. 780 Do thou be minded,<sup>2</sup> as in terror, not to desert these gods; <I will presently return<sup>3</sup>> when I have secured assistance: the city shall find no fault with a messenger old in years but young in eloquent wit. [*Exit.*

*Chor.* O hilly land, most righteous object of our veneration,<sup>4</sup> what is our fate to be? What quarter of the Apian land shall we take flight unto; if there is anywhere for us a dark hiding-place? O could I turn into black smoke, neighbouring the clouds of Zeus, and flying upwards without wings, vanish out of sight like dust and perish utterly! 790

Fate can no longer be avoided<sup>5</sup>; my heart is darkened and quivering within me; my father's view hath overcome<sup>6</sup> me; I am undone with fear. Fain would I meet my doom in a halter-noose before a loathed man come near my body; sooner may I die and Hades be my master!

O for a seat somewhere in the heaven above, against 800 which watery clouds turn into snow, or some sheer, goat-free, uncommunionable,<sup>7</sup> solitary beetling crag, some vul-

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation, and consequently the exact rendering, of this passage is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *h. Apoll.* 247, 258, 287, *Eum.* 989 φρονούσιω εὐρίσκειω (as it should be read).

<sup>3</sup> Something to this effect has perished.

<sup>4</sup> γᾶ βοῦνι, πάνδικον σέβας (βοῦνι Dindorf, πάνδικον Paley).

<sup>5</sup> ἀλυκτὸν δ' (Hermann) οὐκέτ' ἂν πέλοι <τέλος>

<sup>6</sup> 'convinced me,' cf. *Theb.* 81 αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει . . . , ἔλε δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυπ' ὠτιχρίμπτη βοῶ.

<sup>7</sup> ἀπρόσμικτος (Newman) or ἀπρόσδεκτος (Weil) is suitable; but I

ture-haunted peak, assuring me a plunge into the depth, before I meet perforce with a wedlock that rends my heart.

Therafter I refuse not to become a prey to dogs and a feast unto the fowls of the land; for death delivereth from <sup>810</sup> sorrow and sighing. Come death, befall me death before the marriage-bed! What way of escape can I yet find<sup>1</sup> to deliver me from wedlock?

Cry aloud with heaven-reaching voice strains of supplication to the gods: and do thou, O Father, see them prove effectual and releasing from our troubles,<sup>2</sup> justly regarding <sup>820</sup> violence with unfriendly eyes,<sup>3</sup> and show respect unto thy petitioners, O Zeus, almighty ruler of the earth.

For the race of Aegyptus, male, in outrage loathsome, are pursuing me in flight with clamorous lewdness,<sup>4</sup> and seek to get hold of me by force: but the beam of thy balance is universal; without thee nought on earth is brought to pass. <sup>830</sup>

(*Enter a Herald of the Egyptians.*)

*Chor.*<sup>5</sup> Oh! oh! Here is the sea-pirate on the land! Ere that, thou pirate, mayst thou perish! . . . Alack, alack! Fly, fly for protection! Rough insolence doth he display past bearing on sea and land alike. O lord of the land, take post before us <sup>6</sup>!

do not believe in the MS. ἀπρόσδεικτος, there is no such compound as προσδείκνυμι.

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφυγᾶς (Weil after Hermann) τίν' ἔτι πρόρον.

<sup>2</sup> I have given what appears to me the purport of these corrupted lines.

<sup>3</sup> μὴ φίλοις (Lachmann) ὀρῶν ὄμμασιν ἐνδίκως, or μὴ φίλως (Marckscheffel) ὀρῶν ὄμμασιν ἐνδίκοις 'with just eyes regarding force unfavourably.'

<sup>4</sup> The schol. took μάταισι to mean 'quest.'

<sup>5</sup> The passage that follows (832-913) has suffered such mutilation and corruption as in many places to be past recovery. But the general effect of the scene is perfectly intelligible—terror and confusion on the women's part, rude and brutal humour on the herald's.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps γαῖάναξ in one word, as ἰππιάνακτας *Pers.* 999.

*Herald.* Pack ye, pack to the boat at your feet's best 850  
pace!—Very well, then, plucking of hair and pricking with  
goad, cutting off of the head with blood! Pack ye, pack  
with a plague upon you to the vessel!

*Chor.* O on your briny course over the great flood that  
you had perished with your imperious arrogance and your  
rivetted barque!

*Herald.* With a bloody head to the vessel will I—what 860  
meanest, with thy pounding and shrieking and shout? I  
tell you, give o'er your clamours, for why? they are but a  
vain deceit.<sup>1</sup> Away! Leave the sanctuary and be off to  
the boat! I care nothing for one without honour or  
city.<sup>2</sup>

*Chor.* Never again may I behold the oxen-fattening  
water, whence grows and thrives for mankind the blood  
of life!

I am a native, of old nobility, of a deep, deep-soiled<sup>3</sup> 870  
land,<sup>3</sup> old man.

*Herald.* Aye but on shipboard, on shipboard shall you  
presently go, willy-nilly, by force, by force . . . with  
desperate hands.<sup>4</sup>

*Chor.* Alack, alack! So may you perish desperately,

<sup>1</sup> αἶμον' ἐγὼ σ' ἐπ' ἀμίδα—τί σύ, δουπίαχαπύτα; κέλομαι βοᾶν  
μεθέσθαι (τί γάρ;) φρεναπατᾶν is my restoration of the MS. αἶμονεσ  
ὡς ἐπάμίδα ησυδουπιατάπιτα κελεύω βία μεθέσθαι ἴχαρ φρενί τ'  
ἄταν. The meaning of δοῦπος in the compound δουπ-ιαχ-απύτα  
is the noise made in beating the breast: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 630, Eur.  
*Alc.* 106.

<sup>2</sup> ἀτίετον ἄπολιν (Peiper) οὐ σέβω (Butler). Hom. I 648, II 59  
ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.

<sup>3</sup> ἔγγαιος ἐγὼ βαθυχάϊος βαθείας, βαθείας, γέρον. I take βαθείας to  
have arisen from βαθείας, the ρ meaning a *v. l.* βαρείας: and ἔγγαιος  
(as the word is usually spelt) is an easy alteration of ἄγγαιος.

<sup>4</sup> ὀλομέναις παλάμαις Turnebus. The Herald mocks the iteration of  
their words.

driven out of your course over the ocean-mead<sup>1</sup> by east<sup>2</sup> 880  
winds off the sandy foreland of Sarpedon!

*Herald.* You may wail and howl and call on heaven—for you will not overleap the Egyptian boat—more sorely than *Achaean*s that bear the name of *ache*<sup>3</sup>!

*Chor.* . . .<sup>4</sup>—thou art overblown . . . may the mighty Nile that . . . overwhelm thine insolence! 890

*Herald.* Go, I tell you, to the reversing boat with all speed; let there be no loitering, for haling hath no reverence at all for locks of hair.

*Chor.* O, father! . . .<sup>5</sup> he is carrying me a-march like a spider off to sea, a black, black nightmare!

O Mother Earth, drive him away fearful by thine aid<sup>6</sup>! 900  
O son of Earth, King Zeus!

*Herald.* I am not fearful at all of the gods here, for they did not nurture me, nor should I have reached old age<sup>7</sup> upon their nurture!

*Chor.* Ravening near me comes this human serpent; like a viper, or what venomous monster shall I call him?—is carrying me off by force!<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A lyric phrase, as *πόντιον ἔλκος* Bacchylid. xvii. 84, Aesch. *Pers.* 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Εὐρέταισιν ἀβραι* Paley. The particular wind responsible is often named, e.g. *A. P.* vii. 273, 500, 501, Aesch. *Ag.* 696, Pind. *N.* vii. 29, *P.* iv. 203, Bacchylid. xvii. 6, 91.

<sup>3</sup> [*ἴνυζε καὶ βόα*] *πικρότερ'* Ἀχαιῶν οἰζύος φερωνύμων is my conjecture (cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 648). The schol. read Ἀχαιῶν, and ὄνομα ἔχων I suppose a corruption of ὄνομα ἐχόντων, itself a gloss on φερωνύμων.—Similarly the title Ἀχάια of Demeter was popularly referred to ἔχος, her sorrow for her daughter.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson Ellis conjectures that in *περιχαμπτὰ* is concealed *χάμψα* 'a crocodile.'

<sup>5</sup> *βρετεοσάρως* could mean 'an image-sweeper'; but words are probably lost between *α* and *ροσ*.

<sup>6</sup> *βοᾶ* Hermann.

<sup>7</sup> οὐδ' ἐγήρασ' ἐν Peiper.

<sup>8</sup> ἔχιδνα δ' ὡς με <φόνιος ἦ

ρί ποτέ ν<ιν καλῶ

δάκος; ἄγ<ει βία.



O Mother Earth, drive him away fearful by thine aid !<sup>910</sup>  
O son of Earth, King Zeus !

*Herald.* Unless ye go resignedly to the ship, rending shall have no mercy on your garment's work.

*Chor.* Ho, chiefs and leaders of the city, I am suffering violence !

*Herald.* Lords in plenty shall you presently see in the sons of Aegyptus ; never fear, you will not speak of lack of government.<sup>1</sup>

*Chor.* We are undone ! O King, we are being dealt with sinfully<sup>2</sup> !

*Herald.* I shall have to hale you off by<sup>3</sup> the hair, it<sup>920</sup> seems, since ye are not quick of hearing when I speak.

(*Enter KING.*)

*King.* Sirrah, what doest thou ? With what imagination set you thus at nought this city of Pelasgian men ? Or think you, peradventure, it is a land of women you have come to ? Your bearing is over haughty for an outlander toward Greeks ; and you have made many misses and no hits.

*Herald.* And what herein has wrongfully been done amiss ?

*King.* First, you know not how to demean yourself as a foreigner.

*Herald.* I know not ? How, when I find what I had lost ?

*King.* After notice given to what patrons in the country ?<sup>930</sup>

*Herald.* To the greatest of patrons—Hermes the Searcher.

*King.* To gods ; yet show you no reverence to those same.

*Herald.* It is the deities about the Nile whom I revere.

Cf. *Ag.* 1231, *Cho.* 995, Lycophron 1410, *Ar. Nuó.* 1378, *Andoc.* i. 129, *Dem.* 232. 20, 1483. 24.

<sup>1</sup> Heath suggested that this and the succeeding distich of the Herald should change places, thus making πολλοὺς ἄνακτας have reference to ἕναξ.

<sup>2</sup> ἕσπετ' Tucker.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπισπάσας κόμης Pierson : ἀποσπάσας would mean 'dragging from.'

*King.* And those here are nothing, as I understand thee?

*Herald.* I shall carry these girls off, unless any choose to take them from me.

*King.* Thou shalt smart for it if thou lay finger on them, and that very soon.

*Herald.* I hear; it is not a hospitable answer.

*King.* I show not hospitality to robbers of the gods.

*Herald.* I will go and tell this to the sons of Aegyptus.

*King.* That is no concern to my mind.

*Herald.* But that I may speak by knowledge in plainer terms—for it is a herald's duty to give a clear account in all particulars—what am I to say? Who may I report has taken from me the women-folks, their cousins<sup>1</sup>? 'Tis not by the mouths of witnesses that Ares judgeth in such case; not in the receipt of silver doth he settle the dispute, but first there comes to pass full many a fall of man and shuffling-off of life.

*King.* Why should I tell thee my name? Thou shalt<sup>950</sup> learn it in good season, both thou and thy companions. These maidens now, if they choose of their good will, you may take away—should they be prevailed upon by lawful argument. To such effect is the people's vote resolved unanimously by the state, never to surrender this band of women under force: through that the rivet has been driven clean, to keep it fast unalterably. It is not inscribed on tablets, this, or sealed up within the leaves of books, but you hear it plainly from outspoken lips. Get thee now straightway from my sight!

*Herald.* We are like, it seems, to involve ourselves in<sup>960</sup> war. Be victory and triumph with the males!

*King.* Oh, males you will find in the people of this country; no drinkers of barley-mead.

You now, take courage all of you and proceed with your

<sup>1</sup> Weil supposes a lacuna here.

own handmaidens to the strong city locked with bastions of profound device. And houses are there, public in abundance, and I am housed myself on no illiberal scale : where you may share ready abodes with company, or if it be more 970 to your pleasure, you are free to dwell in single-fashioned<sup>1</sup> houses. Choose herein—you are free—what is best and most to your liking : I am your protector, and the citizens all, whose will this is we are fulfilling. What higher authority need you wait for ?

*Chor.* O filled be thou with blessings, noble king of the Pelasgians, for thy blessings done to us ! But prithee send hither our brave father Danaus, our adviser and leader of 980 our counsels ; for precedence belongs to his consideration where we should make our abode and what region is agreeable. Every tongue is ready to cast reproach on foreigners ; but may the best befall ! With good report and unresentful language from the people<sup>2</sup> take up your stations<sup>3</sup> handmaids, according as Danaus allotted her portion of retinue in each daughter's case. 990

*(The handmaids take their places by their mistresses.*

*Enter DANAUS with a body-guard.)*

*Dan.* My children, we should offer to the Argives prayer and sacrifice and libation as to Olympian gods, for they are *saviours* absolutely ! The behaviour of cousins towards their own relations they heard from me with indignation against them,<sup>4</sup> and to me assigned this retinue of spearmen,

<sup>1</sup> μονορρήθμους = μονοτρόπους : cf. ιδιόρρυθμοι (κοινοβιακοί, ἑτερόρρυθμος, δμόρρυθμος).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps there has been something lost here.

<sup>3</sup> I conjecture ἐνι χώρα τάσσεσθε.

<sup>4</sup> ἀντανεψίσις is constructed with πικρῶς and so placed in order to emphasise the antithesis ἐμοὶ δέ : the simple form of the sentence would be τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντανεψίων πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς φίλους πραχθέντα πικρῶς ἤκουσαν, . . .

that I might have rank and honour, and might not suddenly fall unawares by the death of the spear, and so an ever-living burden come upon the land. Recipients of such 1000 boons should hold gratitude in reverence at the helm of the mind . . . This precept also add to your father's many others recorded in your memory, that unknown company may be proved by time. In an alien's case every one bears an evil tongue in readiness, and to utter an expression of disgust comes easy. My charge to you is to bring no shame upon me, with your bloom so attractive to men's eyes. Ripe tender fruit is not easy to protect; mankind, of course, ruin (it) as much as beasts [and brutes that fly and 1010 that walk upon the earth:] . . . Cypris . . . proclaims open to desire<sup>1</sup>: and so every man in passing darts under the influence of desire a seductive arrow of the eye at the dainty loveliness of virgins. See therefore that we suffer not that for cause whereof all that labour (was endured) and all that ocean furrowed by our barque, and that we work not shame to ourselves and pleasure to our enemies. Habitation is before us of twain sort, the one offered by 1020 Pelasgus and the other by the city, to inhabit without rent: these are easy terms. Only observe these your father's charges, valuing chastity more than life itself.

*Chor.* In all else may the gods of Olympus grant us fortune! but for my bloom, father, thou needst have no fear; for unless some harm has been designed by heaven, my mind shall not swerve from her former path.

Come away now to glorify the blessed city-lords,<sup>2</sup> both

<sup>1</sup> Not only the words, but the punctuation and construction of this passage are uncertain. I suspect that *καρπώματα* should be *κηπέματα*, 'gardens' cultivated by irrigation, as *καρπέματα* has been altered to *κηπέματα* in another case by Hermann (*Opusc.* i. p. 55). *ανθωσ-<sup>ει</sup>μένην ἐρῶ* I have little doubt should be *ἀνεωγμέν' ἱμέρω* (*ἀνεωγμένην'* had been conjectured by Tucker).

<sup>2</sup> Tucker plausibly conjectures *ἴτε μὲν ἄστυδ', ἄνακτας* 'go yecitywards.'

the keepers of the town and them that dwell about the  
ancient stream of Erasinus. 1030

And ye handmaids, take up the strain, and let this the  
Pelasgians' country be the subject of our praise, and no  
more let the homage of our hymns be paid to the out-  
pourings of the Nile:

But to the rivers that through this country pour their  
gentle draught and give it increase, with their rich flood  
solacing her soil. 1040

And may pure Artemis look with compassion on this  
band, and marriage never come through constraint of  
Cytherea: that prize be the portion of my enemies!

Yet is not Cypris disregarded by this friendly hymn; she  
shares with Hera power nearest removed from Zeus; and  
in august rites is the subtle-witted goddess honoured:

And leagued in their Mother's company are Desire and  
she to whom nothing is denied, winning Persuasion; also 1050  
upon Harmonia hath been bestowed a share in Aphrodite,<sup>1</sup>  
and (upon) the whispering dalliance of the Loves.

But for the fugitives I have boding fears of vengeance yet<sup>2</sup>  
and sore distress and bloody war:—what means it that they  
have effected a successful voyage in swiftly-spiced pursuit?

What is fated, that will come to pass. The mighty  
untranscended will of Zeus may not be overstepped: may 1060  
this marriage prove as in many other women's case<sup>3</sup>  
before us!

May mighty Zeus defend me from wedlock with Aegyptus'  
race!

That would be best; but thou wouldst move the im-  
moveable.

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 295 Ἀρεώς τε μοῖραν μεταλαβὼν ἔχει τιναδ Tucker, who  
has a good note.

<sup>2</sup> φυγάδεσσιν δ' ἔτι ποιναδ Burges.

<sup>3</sup> μετὰ πολλῶν . . . προτερᾶν . . . γυναικῶν: so e.g. Hdt. vi. 68,  
Eur. *Hipp.* 441, 830, Plat. *Gorg.* 521 D.

And thou knowest not what shall be !

Why how should I discern the mind of Zeus, a sight unfathomable? Prithee let the words of thy prayer be moderate !

What limit <sup>1</sup> is this I am to learn ?

To observe the *Nought too much* <sup>2</sup> in things of heaven.

May Zeus the Lord spare me from cruel wedlock with a hated man, even as with healing hand he delivered Io again from her affliction, after making her possessed <sup>3</sup> by kindly force :

And award the victory to the women ! I am content with <sup>1080</sup> that which is better than bad, <sup>4</sup> with two parts out of three <sup>5</sup> ; content that by means of deliverance from heaven (conflicting) rights, in accordance with my prayers, should go the way of righteousness. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *καιρός* is the 'right point' of time or place, and hence is often synonymous as here with *μέτρον*.

<sup>2</sup> *μηδὲν ἄγαν* : the verb is formed as *λιάζειν* from *λίαν*.

<sup>3</sup> *ὥσπερ Ἰὼ πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' αὐ χεῖρὶ παιωνίᾳ, κατάσχετον εὐμενεῖ βία κτίσας*, where *ὥσπερ* for *ὅσπερ* is Auratus' correction, *αὐ* for *εὐ* is mine, and *κατάσχετον* for *κατασχέθων* was restored by Weil. He took it to mean 'stayed from her distress' ; but elsewhere it is a synonym of *κατάσχετος*, and so I have translated it, referring it to Io's condition before she was restored again to her human form—the aorist participle *κτίσας* having thus the same value as in Soph. *Aj.* 675 *λύει πεδήσας*.

The drift is 'May this only be a temporary trial ; may Zeus, after subjecting us to all this tribulation, set us free again, and refrain from inflicting upon us finally the union we abhor.' *ἀποστεροίη* is 'withhold.'

<sup>4</sup> So Weil, rightly. 'I am content so long as the balance of fortune be ever so little on the right side.'

<sup>5</sup> *τὸ διμοῖρον* is 'the ratio 2 : 1,' as *διμοῖρία* =  $\frac{2}{3}$ , *τὰ δύο μέρη*.

<sup>6</sup> *Chō.* 307, 460.



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